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# THE SCHOOL REVIEW

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## THE NEW ENGLAND GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 1635-1700.

IN studying the Latin grammar school of New England previous to 1700, only a portion of the present territory really comes under consideration. Early action relative to schools depended much on the character of the settlers, the purpose of their coming, their previous education, the controlling spirit of the leaders, and somewhat on their wealth and surroundings. The initial spirit of it all was in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and, when some of the people from around Boston migrated to Hartford and Windsor and Wethersfield and founded the Connecticut Colony, the spirit went with them. The same spirit is found in the New Haven Colony; it spread to the Plymouth Colony, and later its reflection fell upon New Hampshire, which was under Massachusetts law until 1680. The founders of Rhode Island wanted nothing in common with the people who banished them, not even their education; and the status of the Maine settlers is found in this remark of Winthrop's: "They ran a different course from us both in their ministry and in their civil administration." Vermont was not settled.

The study really narrows to the consideration of four confederations, the two in Massachusetts, which united in 1692, and the two in Connecticut, which united in 1665. The essence of the Massachusetts law of 1647 was embodied in the Connecticut code of 1650, the New Haven code of 1656, the Plymouth

law of 1670, and was taken practically entire by New Hampshire in 1680; these vary somewhat in details, but they are unimportant. Upon the union of these four confederations into two colonies, the 1647 law prevailed for the larger Massachusetts, and the 1650 code for the larger Connecticut.

In the beginning, the most strenuous efforts were exerted at Boston and New Haven under the leadership of four men, Cotton and Eliot at the first, Davenport and Eaton at the second. Without the Rev. John Cotton, New England may not have had the grammar school, certainly not at so early a period. Arriving in 1633, in two years he influenced Boston to cast that memorable vote of entreaty to Brother Philemon Pormont to undertake the "teaching and nourishing of children among us." The next year the school certainly began under Mr. Daniel Maude, Harvard College was projected, founded two years later with Mr. Cotton upon the working committee, and from that time until his death, in 1652, his voice and influence were directed toward education.

The Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury, was an able exponent of the same views. Mather, in his *Magnalia*, says of him :

A grammar school he would always have upon the place, whatever it cost him : and he importuned all other places to have the like. I cannot forget the ardor with which I even heard him pray, in a synod of these churches which met at Boston, to consider "how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented." I say with what fervor he uttered an expression to this purpose : "Lord, for schools everywhere among us. O that our schools may flourish. That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives. That before we die we may see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the country." God so blessed his endeavors, that Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town ; and the issue of it has been one thing which has made me almost put the title of *Schola Illustris* upon that little nursery : that is, "That Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the college and then for the public, than any town of its bigness, or if I mistake not, of twice its bigness, in all New England."

The enthusiasm of these men and the influence of the college was felt in the settlements clustered near the coast of Massachusetts Bay, and the several schools were founded in this order.

1635.—The Boston Latin School, whose history has been too

frequently written to need repetition here, was begun in 1635 or 1636.

1636.—The school at Charlestown was begun in 1636. Though it is not mentioned as a grammar school, there is every reason to believe it was one at the outset. It certainly was a grammar school when Ezekiel Cheever became master in 1661, and in 1671 the second article of agreement with Benjamin Thompson read "that he shall prepare such youth as are capable of it for the college, with learning answerable."

1637.—When Salem voted Rev. John Fiske in as an inhabitant in 1637, there was little thought in the minds of the voters that from that act Salem would have one of the oldest schools in New England. Such is the recorded fact, however, and today she points with pride to the tablet on her old Latin school building: "Founded in the Year 1637." Few early votes relative to the school are recorded, but they are sufficient to show its continuous existence. In 1670, "the selectmen shall take care to provide a grammar schoolmaster," and one was engaged for £20. In 1677 the subjects of instruction are given as English, Latin, and Greek, good manners, and the principles of Christian religion. These were taught scholars "so as to fit them for the university, if desired and they are capable." In 1712 a committee was chosen to select a teacher for the Latin school. From this point allusions to the school are frequent.

1639.—This year witnessed Dorchester's famous agreement whereby a yearly rental of £20 was placed on Thompson's Island, "to be paid to such a schoolmaster as shall undertake to teach English, Latin, and other tongues, and also write." Later in the year the Rev. Thomas Waterhouse was elected schoolmaster.

1640-43.—In *New England's First Fruits* appears this sentence:

And by the side of the college, a fair grammar school for the training up of young scholars and fitting them for academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the college.

The exact date of the beginning of the Cambridge school is not known, but in 1643 Mr. Elijah Corlett had been there long

enough to establish a reputation "for skill and faithfulness." The first mention of the school in the town records is this:

September 13, 1648, it was agreed at a meeting of the whole town, that there should be land sold of the common for the gratifying of Mr. Corlett for his pains in keeping a school in the town, the sum of £10, if it can be attained, provided it shall not prejudice the cow common.

This £10, which was obtained the following spring, was recorded as "a gratuity from the town."

1645.—In this year the inhabitants of Roxbury founded their grammar school "in consideration of their religious care of posterity" and because they recognized "how necessary the education of their children in literature will be, to fit them for public service, both in church and commonwealth, in succeeding ages." This was and is an endowed school. In 1666 the town was invited to join the proprietors in its support and extension, but refused.

1645, 1646.—There are strong indications that Braintree founded a school about the same time as Roxbury, though there is no direct evidence of this fact in the records until 1735. In that year a petition was sent to the general court asking for certain grants. Among them is this: "And likewise grant us something gratis for our having kept a free Latin school for about ninety years."

These seven schools were the feeders in Massachusetts to Harvard College. They were qualified to meet the demands, which were not excessive.

When any scholar is able to read Tully or such classical author, extempore, and speak true Latin in verse and prose, and decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, then they may be admitted into college, nor shall any claim admission before such qualifications.

Other aid than persuasion was needed, and the law of 1647 was enacted, making it obligatory upon towns of one hundred families to maintain a grammar school, "the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." To stimulate scholastic ambitions, a penalty of £5 was affixed for all towns not having such a school.

There is no way of ascertaining how many towns were

affected by this law; certainly there was no rapid increase in grammar schools, and the records of many towns show no desire to establish such schools until they had reached the full legal standard of one hundred families; ninety-nine were not enough.

The extreme brevity of the ancient record makes it very difficult to differentiate the kind of school established in many cases. However, as far as may be judged, the order of schools following the law seems to be as follows:

1650.—Watertown elected Richard Norcross, in 1650, schoolmaster, "for the teaching of children to read and write, and so much of Latin according to the order of the Court;" and the next year he was re-engaged to instruct "in English, writing or Latin according to the capacity of the persons." The fee for Latin was fixed at four pence a week. Mr. Norcross remained in the service for twenty-five years, when there was a desire to obtain a schoolmaster "as cheap as they can." But in 1679 Mr. Norcross was again sought, and to save expense the selectmen made an agreement with him—

To keep the school at the school house for the year following, and to begin the 9th of April, 1679, and to teach both Latin and English scholars, so many as shall be sent unto him from the inhabitants, and once a week to teach them their catechism; only in the months of May, June, July, and August, he is to teach only Latin scholars and writers, and them at his own house, and there to afford them all needful help, and the other eight months at the school house, both Latin and English scholars, for which the Selectmen agree that he shall have £20.

The people complained of the agreement, so the school was kept at the schoolhouse the whole year, and Mr. Norcross received £25. The next year the school was made an English school, but the court ordered the town to provide a grammar school, and Richard Norcross was again engaged with a salary of £25, and the benefit of the Latin scholars.

1651.—Ipswich made an attempt to establish one of the very early grammar schools; the result is found in this record of 1636: "A grammar school is set up but does not succeed." In 1651 the town made a grant of land for a second grammar school. Mr. Robert Payne built the house, and gave his house and two acres of land for the use of the schoolmaster; other

endowments followed. This was the school of which Ezekiel Cheever was master for ten years, and made "famous throughout the land."

1653.—It is exceedingly difficult to determine with surety what kind of a school was established in Dedham. It began in 1644, but it was not until 1653, when, among other things, the master agreed to teach the *Accidence*, that good evidence exists of its being a grammar school. Inferential evidence might be drawn from the fact that the salary all these years was £20, and, as there was usually a marked difference between the salary of an English and that of a Latin master, this regular salary might indicate a continuous grammar school. Future votes, however, show that the school was intermittent in grade, and that able men were not always in charge.

In 1663 the master agreed to teach "the Latin tongue so far as he can and to try for one quarter of a year how he may suit with the town." There were further interruptions. Grammar was again mentioned in 1667. There was difficulty in obtaining schoolmasters, but in 1685 an agreement was made with Mr. Holbrook "to keep the school and to teach such children as come, to read and write both English and Latin, according to his ability and their capacities." In 1691 the town was presented for not having a grammar school. During all these years the salary varied between £10 and £30. It seems fair, then, to conclude that this school was not a grammar school until the *Accidence* is mentioned in 1653.

The 1647 law seems to have had no far-reaching effect. Here are but three schools founded immediately after its passage. Newbury, in 1658, according to the court records, "upon their presentment for want of a Latin school, is to pay £5 to Ipswich Latin school, unless they by the next court provide a Latin schoolmaster according to law." There is no town record to show what they did, and the grammar school does not appear for nearly a generation later. In 1687 a committee "agreed with Mr. Seth Shove to be the Latin schoolmaster for the town of Newbury for the present year." In 1691 Latin scholars paid six pence per week. The school then was a "moving" school,

kept in three parts of the town. In 1696 the schoolmaster was offered "£30 in country pay," "provided he demand but four pence per week for Latin scholars, and teach the town's children to read, write, and cypher without pay." There are many votes relative to the grammar school after this.

A Hingham contract of 1670 says: "Henry Smith engageth that with care and diligence he will teach and instruct, until a year be expired, in Latin, Greek, and English, in writing and arithmetic." This grammar school is probably continued, though in 1690 it was voted "that the selectmen of the town shall hire a schoolmaster as cheap as they can get one, provided they shall hire a single man and not a man that have a family." At this time the town was paying taxes in milk pails. There were various grammar school votes for the next one hundred years.

Woburn made two attempts to establish a grammar school, but without success. In 1685 the selectmen appointed Mr. Samuel Carter, a Harvard graduate, "to keep a grammar school that year with a salary of £5 per annum." There were no pupils. The following year he was reappointed, but was promised only thirty shillings unless scholars came, when he should have £5. There were again no pupils, and Mr. Carter probably holds the unique place of being the only grammar schoolmaster who ever received two years' salary, meager though it was, for doing nothing.

1680-90.—Shattuck claims that Concord had a grammar school previous to 1680, but a report to the county court at Cambridge that year says: "As for grammar scholars we have none except some of honored Mr. Peter Buckley's and some of Rev. Mr. Esterbrook's, whom he himself educates." This casts doubt upon the existence of a grammar school. One must have been established soon after this, for in 1692 a committee was appointed to petition the general court "to ease us in the law relating to the grammar schoolmaster." The school was continued, however, for a few years later the pupils were charged four pence per week tuition.

1667.—The third clause of the agreement with the second schoolmaster at Northampton in 1667 was "six pence per week



to learn the *Accidence*, writing, casting accounts." But there was so much succeeding difficulty in obtaining masters that the Ipswich record almost might be repeated here, "set up but did not succeed."

In 1688 the school was given permanency, and five years later the town voted that it should be made a free grammar school for twenty years, and the master's salary was made £40, raised by rate upon the inhabitants. At the end of this twenty years the town again voted to "maintain a grammar school in the town for twenty years next coming, and to be paid by the town in the same kind and portion other taxes are paid."

Hadley received £308 out of the Hopkins legacy for grammar schools, and in 1667 this record was made: "The town have granted to and for the use of a grammar school in this town of Hadley and to be and remain perpetually to and for the use of the said school, the two little meadows, etc."

1681.—In 1681 a committee was appointed "to get a schoolmaster to teach Latin and English." Tuition rates were fixed at twenty shillings a year for Latin scholars and sixteen shillings for English. The school is frequently mentioned from this time. In 1743 Josiah Pierce, a Harvard graduate, became master, "to instruct in reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin, and Greek." He was master of the school for eighteen years.

In Lynn, in 1700, the selectmen chose the Rev. Mr. Shepherd "to keep a grammar school," for which £30 were voted the next year. As Mr. Shepherd, the minister, had also been the schoolmaster almost continuously since 1687, it is fair to assume that this vote does not mark the beginning of the grammar school, but rather that it had always been such a school during Mr. Shepherd's term of service. In 1702 the grammar master was allowed £40, and Latin pupils were charged six pence per week.

1698.—Marblehead, in 1698, had as schoolmaster Josiah Cotton, a Harvard graduate, who soon entered the ministry, but returned and taught another half-year. In his diary he says:

The people there, being generally if not universally inclined to give their children common learning, though scholars rise but thin amongst them. There was but one that went from thence whilst I kept school, to the college. . . . There was another designed, but death put an end to the design.

This is merely circumstantial evidence of a grammar school : it probably cleared the legal demands, but lacked popularity and strength.

In the Plymouth Colony no movement was made toward this form of education until the law of 1670—

granting all such profits as may or shall accrue annually to the colony from fishing with nets or seines at Cape Cod for mackerel, bass or herring, to be improved for and towards a free school in some town in this jurisdiction, for the training up of youth in literature for the good and benefit of posterity, provided a beginning were made within one year after the said grant.

The rentals from this fishery amounted to £33 a year; the school was soon established at Plymouth, for in the court records it says :

Within the time limited there hath been a beginning made at Plymouth and hitherto continued by God's blessing with good success as upon examination may appear: and whereas the said town in general have given and granted whatsoever profits may anyway arise from or by the improvement of a considerable tract of upland and meadow belonging to the said town of Plymouth, lying at Agawam, Sepecan and places adjacent, for and towards the maintenance and upholding of the said school at Plymouth; as also since several of the town of Plymouth, out of their good affections, have fully given out of their own estates, for the erecting or procuring a convenient school-house, not only for the better accommodating of the scholars, but also for the schoolmaster to live and reside in.

The court gladly takes this trust "to encourage and carry on the said well begun work at New Plymouth so long as God shall be pleased to afford any competency of means and convenient number of scholars."

1672.—It did not become a grammar school probably until 1672, when Mr. Corlett, from Harvard, was elected master. In this same year the town voted unanimously, as referred to in the court record, that their land at "Sepecan, Agawam and places adjacent, the profits and benefits thereof, shall be improved and employed for and toward the maintenance of the free school now begun and erected at Plymouth."

The new master devoted himself so zealously to Latin and Greek that the people became dissatisfied, and in 1674 voted that the children "be taught to write and cypher besides that which the country expects from the said school."

In 1677 a law was passed "that in whatsoever township in this government consisting of fifty families or upwards any meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar school," the town making a reasonable appropriation, "the profits arising from the Cape fisheries heretofore ordered to maintain a grammar school in the Colony, shall be distributed to such towns as have such grammar schools, not exceeding £5 per annum to any one town," unless there was some good reason why the court treasurer should grant more.

Like the Massachusetts Bay law of thirty years previous, this law affixed a penalty :

And further this Court orders that every such town as consists of seventy families or upwards, and hath not a grammar school therein, shall allow and pay unto the next town which hath such grammar school kept up amongst them, the sum of £5 per annum, in current merchantable pay.

1677.—This same year, Duxbury had a grammar school, kept by Mr. Wiswall, the pastor, and the court order of 1681-2, distributing the Cape money, awarded £8 "to Mr. Ichabod Wiswall's school at Duxbury." He continued the school until 1700.

In 1678 the court gave away £10 of the Cape money, £5 to a widow "and the other £5 to the schoolmaster at Rehoboth in reference to the order of court disposing such pay to be improved towards the keeping of a grammar school in each town of this jurisdiction, as in the said order is expressed."

Although there is no mention of a grammar school in the town records at this time, there is circumstantial evidence in a record of 1680, where a schoolmaster was engaged at a salary of £20 and diet, "besides what the Court doth allow in that case." This allusion to the Cape money, the amount of salary, and the award of £5 in 1678, and another of £12 in 1681-2 prove fairly well that a grammar school was founded in Rehoboth in 1678. There are later votes showing such a school was well established. In 1708 there was an agreement with a schoolmaster "to instruct in reading, writing, *grammar*, and arithmetic," and in 1712 the school appropriation was made with the understanding that the old part of the town "be obliged to maintain a grammar school."

1682.—Bristol, afterward set off to Rhode Island, in 1683 voted "the selectmen to look out a grammar schoolmaster and use their endeavor to attain £5 of the Cape money granted for such an end." There is no proof that such a school was begun, and Bristol was not named in the money distribution of 1683; yet in 1699 scholars paid four pence a week for their Latin.

The distribution of the Cape money in 1682-3, the last recorded, awarded £12 to Barnstable school, £8 to Duxbury, £5 to Rehoboth, and £3 to Taunton. Swansea is not mentioned, though in 1673 it was voted "to set up a school for rhetoric, arithmetic, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew."

It is also worthy of note that Plymouth is not mentioned in any of this distribution. It was not until 1699 that any record pointed toward a town grammar school. In that year the price for every scholar "that comes to write or cypher or to learn Latin" was fixed at three pence per week.

Thatcher, in his *History of Plymouth*, says "there was no grammar schoolmaster until 1699," evidently basing his view on the above vote; while Goodwin, in *The Pilgrim Republic*, says:

In 1685 a Latin school was ordered in each of the new shire towns (Plymouth, Barnstable and Bristol). Each pupil from those towns was to pay three pence a week for English branches and six pence when he comes to his grammar.

After 1699 there is no doubt as to the continuance of a grammar school in Plymouth. In 1705 the cost of Latin was made four pence for scholars within one mile of the schoolhouse, two pence for those over one mile and within two miles, and free for those beyond the two-mile limit.

The Plymouth Colony law seems never to have been enforced through the courts as the Massachusetts Bay law was, but after the union of the two colonies in 1692, and the Bay law of 1647 was extended over the engrafted colony, enforcement began. Taunton, in 1697, "then did make choice of Mr. Samuel Danforth to keep a grammar school here in Taunton this present year." This vote was caused by a presentment at court, in answer to which one of the selectmen, Philip King, appeared, "The said King producing in this court a letter from Mr. Dan-

forth, the minister, signifying his approval of keeping a grammar school for this year."

The letter, in part, reads :

This may certify that a school has been kept in my house for above one whole year past for the instruction of children in reading, writing, and cyphering, to which many children came and any might, and others would have come, only the poverty of their parents, these hard times, prevented. As for any that were willing to learn Latin, etc., I have been willing to teach myself ever since I came to Taunton, but one yet came and him I taught as far as parents desired.

Sandwich had a schoolmaster in 1679, because his tax rate was abated "for his encouragement." Ten pounds were appropriated for salary in 1695, and the same amount in 1699, when he was called "The Grammar schoolmaster." Though called by this name, he was "to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic." This fact, his small salary, and the fact that in 1707 an appropriation of £20 was made to obtain a master "to instruct the children in reading, writing, arithmetic, and Latin," with the additional proviso that "they who send shall pay £10 more," proves the name a misnomer, and rather precludes Sandwich from the list of towns having grammar schools previous to 1700.

Barnstable, which received a portion of the Cape money in 1683, and is credited by Goodwin with having a grammar school in 1685, does not mention any school in her records until 1713.

In Connecticut the New Haven Colony, as early as 1641,

Ordered, that a free school shall be set up in this town, and our pastor, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates, shall consider what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the common stock of the town, and also what rules and orders are meet to be observed in and about the same.

According to which order, £20 a year was paid to Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, the present schoolmaster, for two or three years, at first, but that not proving a competent maintenance, in August 1644, it was enlarged to £30 a year and so continueth.

Mr. Cheever was in the band which left Boston in 1638 to found New Haven, and Michael Wigglesworth, in his diary, records the fact that he learned Latin at a school kept at his house in 1639. There is every evidence to show that this first school, of which he was master, was a Latin grammar school.

Through church troubles he left the school in 1647, and the master who followed him became discouraged because "so many children came to him to be taught their letters and so few to study the classics." Troubles multiplied until finally, in 1660, the town school was given up for a colony grammar school, for which £40 was to be paid from the colony treasury. The school was situated at New Haven. A schoolhouse was provided by the town and certain lands were granted. Jeremiah Peck was engaged as master, who was required "to teach the scholars Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and fit them for the college."

The Jurisdiction records of 1661 contain a lengthy reference to this school; though its full quotation however, sheds much light on the status of the school.

There were sundry propositions presented by Mr. Peck, schoolmaster, to this court, as follows:

1. That the schoolmaster shall be assisted with the power and counsel of any of the honored magistrates or reverend elders, as he finds need or the case may require.
2. That Rectores Scholæ be now appointed and established.
3. What is it that the jurisdiction expects from the master, whether anything besides instruction in the languages and oratory.
4. That two indifferent men be appointed to provide and send to the master such scholars as be fitted for his tuition.
5. That two men be appointed to take care of the school, to repair and supply necessities as the case may require.
6. Whether the master shall have liberty to be at neighbor's meetings once every week.
7. Whether it may not be permitted that the school may begin, be it at eight of the clock all the winter half year.
8. That the master shall have liberty to use any books that do or shall belong to the school.
9. That the master shall have liberty to receive into and instruct in the school, scholars sent from other places out of this jurisdiction, and that he shall receive the benefit of them over and above what the jurisdiction doth pay him.
10. That the master may have a settled habitation not at his own charge.
11. That he shall have a week's vacation in the year, to improve as the case may require.
12. That his person and estate shall be rate free in every plantation of this jurisdiction.
13. That one-half of the year's payment shall be made to and accounts closed with the master within the compass of every half year.

14. That £40 per annum be paid to the schoolmaster by the Jurisdiction Treasurer, and that £10 per annum be paid to him by New Haven Treasurer.

15. That the major part of the aforesaid payments shall be made to the schoolmaster in these particulars, as follows, viz.: 30 bushels of wheat, 2 barrels of pork, and 2 barrels of beef, 40 bushels of indian corn, 30 bushels of pease, 2 firkins of butter, 100 pounds of flax, 30 bushels of oats.

Lastly, that the honored Court would be pleased to consider of and settle these things this Court time, and to confirm the consequent of them, the want of which things, especially some of them, doth hold the master under discouragement and unsettlement; yet these things being suitably considered and confirmed, if it please the honored Court farther to improve him who at present is schoolmaster, although unworthy of such respect and weak for such a work, yet his real intention is to give up himself to the work of a Grammar School, as it shall please God to give opportunity and assistance.

The Court considering of these things, did grant as follows; viz.: To the 2d, they did desire and appoint (naming three men) to take that care and trust upon them; to the 3d, they declared that besides that which he expressed, they expected he should teach them to write as far as was necessary to his work; to the 4th, they declared that they left it to those before mentioned; to the 8th, they declared that he should have the use of those books, provided a list of them be taken; and the 9th, they left to the committee for the school; and the rest they granted in general, except the pork and butter; and for that they did order that he should have one barrel of pork and one firkin of butter, provided by the Jurisdiction Treasurer, though it be with some loss to the jurisdiction, and that he should have wheat for the other barrel of pork. This being done, Mr. Peck seemed to be very well satisfied.

But the school did not succeed, and in three years it was abandoned, and the town school was re-established. The qualifications of succeeding masters were rather meager, and the Latin teaching was very inferior. In 1676 the town was presented for not having a grammar school. An attempt was made in 1677 to get a master who could teach the languages, but without success, and a similar attempt was made in 1681.

The will of Edward Hopkins, 1657, left some of his New England property "which is to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the building up of hopeful youths both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times." This fund became available in 1664, Hartford received £400, New Haven £412, and Hadley

the balance. In 1684 the New Haven school had so far become solidified as to have been put under the following rules :

Orders of the Committee of Trustees for the Grammar School at New Haven to be observed and attended in the said school, made, agreed upon, and published in the said school in the year 1684.

1. The erection of the said school being principally for the instruction of hopeful youth in the Latin tongue and other learned languages, so far as to prepare such youths for the college and public service of the country in church and commonwealth, the chief work of the schoolmaster is to instruct all such youths as are or may be by their parents or friends sent or committed unto him to that end, with all diligence, faithfulness and constancy, out of any of the towns of this country of New Haven, upon his salary account only, otherwise gratis. And if any boys are sent to the master of the said school, from any other part of the colony or country, each such boy or youth to pay ten shillings to the master, at or upon his entrance into the said school.

2. That no boys be admitted into the said school for the learning of English books, but such as have been before taught to spell their letters well, and begin to read, thereby to perfect their right spelling and reading, or to learn to write and cypher, or numeration and addition and no further, and that all others either too young and not instructed in letters and spelling, and all girls be excluded as improper and inconsistent with such a grammar school as the law enjoins, and is the design of this settlement, and that no boys be admitted from other towns for the learning of English without liberty and special license from the Committee.

3. That the master and scholars duly attend the school hours, viz., from six in the morning to eleven in the forenoon, and from one o'clock in the afternoon to five o'clock in the afternoon in summer and four in winter."

4. Refers to attendance.

5. The school shall be opened with prayer.

6. That prayer being ended, the master shall assign to everyone of his scholars their places of sitting according to their degrees of learning, and that (having their parts or lessons appointed them) they keep their seats, and stir not out of doors without leave of the master, and not above two at one time, and so successively unless in cases of necessity.

7. Refers to behavior at school.

8. Refers to behavior at church.

9. That no Latin boys be allowed upon any pretence (sickness and disability excepted) to withdraw or absent themselves from school, without liberty granted them by the master, and that no such liberty be granted but upon ticket from the parents or friends, and on grounds sufficient as in cases of extraordinary or of absolute necessity.

10. That all the Latin scholars and all other of the boys of competent age and capacity, give the master an account of one passage or sentence at



least, of the sermons the foregoing Sabbath, on the second day morning. And that from one to three in the afternoon of every last day of the week, be improved by the master in catechising of his scholars that are capable.

After the union of the two Connecticut colonies, in 1665, the court of elections for the colony of Connecticut took some decisive steps toward the support of grammar schools. In 1672 it "granted to the county towns of Fairfield and New London the sum of 600 acres of land apiece—to be improved in the best manner that may be for the benefit of a grammar school in the said county towns." In 1677 towns neglecting to maintain schools according to law, were made subject to a yearly fine of £5, "which said fine shall be paid towards the maintenance of the Latin school in their county." If county towns neglected "to keep a Latin school according to order, there shall be paid a fine of £10 by the said county towns to the next town in their county, that will engage to keep a Latin school in it, and so £10 annually till they shall come up to the attendance of this order."

In 1690, it was further enacted :

This court considering the necessity and great advantage of good literature, do order and appoint that there shall be two free schools kept and maintained by this colony, for the teaching of all such children as shall come there, after they can first read the Psalter, to teach such reading, writing and arithmetic, the Latin and Greek tongues, the one at Hartford, the other at New Haven.

These various enactments bore fruit, for it is recorded in 1700, "Four grammar schools are constantly kept by the four county towns of this colony," Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield.

In New London, in 1698, the town voted a rate of one half penny "for the use of a free school that shall teach children to read, write and cypher, and the Latin tongue." A principal was engaged for eight years. Beyond these county towns grammar schools were few. Farmington, in 1683, voted to get "a man that is so accomplished as to teach children to read and write and teach the grammar," and ten years later, "a man that is in a capacity to teach both Latin and English."

Windsor was presented in 1672 and fined £5 "for not pro-

curing and maintaining a grammar school, said fine to be paid over to the Hartford grammar school." In 1674 a Mr. Cornish was schoolmaster at a salary of £36. This would indicate that there was a grammar master, though such a school is not mentioned by vote until 1698, when it was "agreed with Mr. Samuel Wolcott to keep a reading and writing and cyphering and grammar school for one full year." His salary was £35.

The Windsor fine shows that Hartford had a grammar school in 1672. There is presumptive evidence that her school was early established. The school taught by John Higginson in 1639, and by William Collins, "a young scholar and preacher from Barbadoes," in 1640, was without doubt a grammar school. The first school record, December 6, 1642, "It is agreed that £30 a year shall be settled upon the school by the town, forever," indicates an existing school; and the amount, a grammar school. In 1643 Mr. Andrews was master, and in 1648 John Russell, son of Rev. John Russell, of Wethersfield, a Harvard master of arts, was master, with salaries pointing toward schools of grammar grade. The course of the school, from obtainable records, seems erratic; it lacked funds, lacked public support, and probably soon lapsed into a common school, to be revived as a county school.

In 1674 Mr. Caleb Watson is "encouraged" as master by a salary of £60.

And for the encouragement of the inhabitants of this town to send their children to school, the town do engage, so long as they shall continue the said Mr. Watson in that work, that the children of this town shall go free of charge to the school.

The town agreed to raise £30 of the salary "upon the inhabitants." This agreement held until annulled by vote of the town in 1687.

In New Hampshire it is doubtful if a grammar school existed except at Portsmouth. In 1696 that town voted "an able schoolmaster be provided for the town as the law directs, not vicious in conversation."

This doubtless refers to a grammar schoolmaster, for in 1697 the rate for "Latiners" was made 24 shillings for the year,

and future records show that the grammar school was continued, though masters were not always to be had easily.

Exeter may have had one, as Pormont, the ex-Boston *brother*, was schoolmaster here for five years. Bell, in his *Exeter Quarter Millennial*, says :

And there is no reason to believe that the line of instructors of which he was the head, was ever afterwards broken. We know that during the next century they were, almost to a man, college graduates.

From these records it seems safe to list the New England grammar schools in this order :

|                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Boston, 1635-36.                    | Windsor, Conn. (1674), 1698.               |
| Salem, 1637.                        | Duxbury, 1677.                             |
| Charlestown, 1636.                  | Rehoboth, 1678.                            |
| Dorchester, 1639.                   | Concord (before 1680), about 1690.         |
| New Haven, 1639.                    | Bristol, 1682.                             |
| Hartford, 1639.                     | Barnstable, 1682-85, perhaps.              |
| Cambridge, 1640-43.                 | Taunton, 1682, perhaps; 1697.              |
| Roxbury, 1645.                      | Farmington, Conn., 1683.                   |
| Braintree, 1645-46.                 | Woburn, 1685; unsuccessful.                |
| Watertown, 1650.                    | Lynn (1687), 1700,                         |
| Ipswich, 1651.                      | Portsmouth, N. H., 1696; probably earlier. |
| Dedham, 1653.                       | New London, Conn., 1698.                   |
| Newbury (1658), 1687.               | Marblehead, 1698; doubtful.                |
| Northampton, 1667.                  | Sandwich, 1699; doubtful.                  |
| Hadley (1667), 1681.                | Fairfield, Conn., before 1700, probably.   |
| Hingham, 1670.                      | Exeter, N. H., before 1700, probably.      |
| Plymouth, county, 1671; town, 1699. | Swansea, 1673, doubtful.                   |

This list shows that in two generations twenty-six grammar schools were surely begun—seven, perhaps, and one was attempted, but lacked popular support. At this time there were eighty-one towns in Massachusetts. It is unfortunate that the population of these towns cannot be ascertained, to enable us to know how fully they conformed to the law. The 1765 census in Massachusetts showed 184 towns, of which only eighty-one had over a thousand inhabitants. From this it might be inferred that the proportion of towns having grammar schools in 1700 was as large as it should be—that, in fact, towns had generally complied with the law. But another view is

obtained from a list of polls given in by twenty towns in Middlesex county (Mass.) in 1708. Nine of the twenty showed more than one hundred families, but only five had attempted a grammar school, and but four had succeeded in its establishment. The list of Harvard graduates from 1644 to 1700 shows that some towns credited with grammar schools did not send a single student to the college, while other towns, like Salisbury, Plymouth in 1646, Dedham, Ipswich, and Concord, before schools were established, sent students, evidently prepared by the ministers of the towns. The great body of them came from the well established and continuous schools at Boston, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Charlestown. When all obtainable light has been shed upon the subject, but one conclusion can be reached: the grammar school was not a "popular" institution; it was conceived, supported, and perpetuated by the few; its extension was slow, its course in most towns erratic; and yet, when taken into consideration with all the struggles of this period, it was a marvelous institution, the bed rock of future educational systems.

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